"DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY"—General Douglas MacArthur's farewell address to West Point—is reprinted on pages 447 and 448 in Section Six of this issue. This is one of the classic speeches of our time.

Human Events

YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 24 June 16, 1962 Section 1 — News

GOP: *Declaration spurs conservative morale* (433)

ECONOMY: *Is tax cut near?* .....(433)

CONNALLY: *GOP takes aim in Texas* .....(433)

KENNEDY: *His temper tantrums* .....(434)

CALIF.: *Nixon must woo conservatives* ....(434)

As JFK Sags: Last week, just when all observers, Democratic and GOP, were reporting their mail showed JFK's synthetic popularity rapidly waning, the Republican National Committee unloosed a shattering broadside against the whole Kennedy Administration in a comparatively brief, but decidedly punchy "Declaration of Principles and Policy." It's what the rank and file of the party have been waiting for over the past few months.

On its appearance last week, spot reactions showed that the declaration is what the Democrats have been fearing their opponents would do. For the New Frontier boys immediately started screaming "violation of bi-partisan foreign policy" and "dastardly and divisive smear, promoting national disunity."

This Democratic response shows that the GOP's arraignment, particularly on the abysmal failure of White House foreign policy in Berlin, Laos and Cuba, has struck home. Coupled with the President's muddling of the serious business situation and some legislative "slaps in his face" (See "Red Trade" story below.), the trend of political conflict now turns against Kennedy and spurs the recently dropping morale of the conservative opposition, both Democratic and Republican.

The Kennedy Crash: Such is the term now applied, perhaps permanently, to the deep dive of the stock market with its attendant dangers of an early recession, if not depression.

"The President pushed the button," "the President triggered" the stock market crash by his anti-business handling of the steel crisis—so runs the almost unanimous judgment of observers. But, in the wake of the market crash, inevitably come calls for Presidential action to correct his great errors and to block a deflationary business development.

These calls arose not only from the Right but also, surprisingly, from the Left—thereby reflecting a conflict (behind the scenes) among JFK's economic advisers. Most startling, as noted in this column last week, was the advocacy editorially by the ultra-liberal Washington *Post* of a tax reduction measure right away, resembling the NAM-backed Baker-Herlong bill, favored by all conservatives. That is: cutting all income taxes (including high brackets from 91 per cent to 65 per cent); reducing corporation levies (perhaps to 45 per cent) and introducing fast depreciation.

This liberal flip-flop apparently hit the White House (worried sick about possible recession) so strongly that even chief Economic Adviser Walter Heller began to wobble. They call him "Wrong Way Walter," because he has stuck to a policy of government control of business, despite his historic boo-boo in 1951. In that year, he advised the West German leaders to eschew private free enterprise for planned recovery—they chose the former course and prospered handsomely. Now he seems inclined in principle toward the Washington *Post* ideas, but "don't do it just yet," "let's wait and see."

As a result, Kennedy followed the "Wrong Way Walter" doctrine when speaking to the press last Thursday. He thereby turned away from the advice given by Roger Blough a few days earlier, that immediate tax concessions to business would "electrify" the business morale.

JFK, however, left the door open, suggesting he might "move" on this matter "if new circumstances" develop. Around the Capital, economic observers wonder if he will wait "until it's too late" to block a recession.

Texas Primary: Now that "conservative" John B. Connally, Jr., has won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Texas, observers feel sure that the Texas GOP, headed by candidate Jack Cox, will proceed to remove the label from Connally and replace it with the LBJ brand.

A high-ranking Republican told HUMAN EVENTS last week: "It isn't too tough to act like a conservative when you're running against Don Yarborough [Connally's ultra-liberal opponent in the Democratic primary], but we think you'll see a different story now that he's up against a real conservative like Jack Cox."

The Texas Republicans emphasize they are "up" for this one, just as they were last year for the Tower campaign. Although still vastly the minority party in terms of registration, the GOP sees the

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following major factors working for them: They are a united, dynamic party going into this campaign; they are ready for a maximum effort, and they feel they represent—even more than during Senator Tower's successful campaign—the vast majority of political sentiment in the state, regardless of registration.

The Democrats and Connally, on the other hand, are badly divided as to what type of campaign should be waged. To win, Connally—who won the primary by a fairly slim margin—must woo over the state's numerous liberal and minority-bloc voters who supported Yarborough. The question thus arises: How can he accomplish this on the one hand without causing a wholesale conservative Democratic defection to Cox on the other?

On top of this, the Estes scandal has shaken Texas Democrats badly, and they are the first to concede it will prove a potent Republican campaign weapon.

Aside from the governorship, top Texas Republicans report they might wind up with as many as five House seats in November. In addition to Bruce Alger's Dallas seat, they have high hopes of defeating three incumbent Democrats, including Representative J. T. Rutherford, who accepted a $1,500 campaign contribution from Billie Sol Estes. Ed Foreman, the GOP candidate for Rutherford's seat, has demanded that Rutherford resign because of his involvement with Estes.

Moreover, the Republicans have a good chance to capture the new at-large seat with Desmond Barry as their nominee. Jimmy Hoffa has made his No. 1 target the defeat of Barry, whose trucking firm licked a secondary boycott by Hoffa's Teamsters Union in 1957. (See HUMAN EVENTS, December 22, 1961.)

Cantankerous Kennedy: Many Democrats in the Capital—not only Southerners, but also old-line Northern members of the President's party—stir anxiously over evidences of JFK's "low boiling point."

They recall that they had opposed Kennedy's nomination in 1960 on the grounds he was too "immature" to exercise wisely the powers of the Chief Executive. (Harry Truman said as much when he sought to block JFK's nomination.) Today, these Democrats are deeply concerned over the national welfare and security because of what they dub "government by fury."

In the past week, the President's barring of copies of the New York *Herald Tribune* from the White House was a leading topic of discussion on Capitol Hill. Noted was not only the President's impulsive discarding of the fair-minded, "let's-read-both-sides" posture which the American people expect from the Chief Executive, but also—and more importantly—the sudden, impulsive anger which he showed toward criticism from the other side of the aisle.

Mature men in public life all experience sudden anger in the forensics of American political life. But most have the judgment and maturity to postpone public demonstration of their feelings until calm consideration of circumstances can dictate their course.

In the case of JFK, this trait can—as shown in the past—produce effects of great potential harm to the country. Critics on Capitol Hill point to two vital instances:

(1) The President's handling of the U. S. Steel price boost. In this case, his "fury" was seen by all and its consequence has been a loss of business confidence which threatens to plunge the economy into a recession, if not something rivaling the Great Depression.

(2) The President's reported dictation of the tone of the letter Secretary of State Dean Rusk sent to Chancellor Adenauer recently—a tone of "great violence" as described by liberal columnist Joseph Alsop. This message, in turn, chilled our strongest ally against encroaching communism in Europe and threatens the continuance of NATO, the Western military shield against Soviet Russia. In this case, fledgling "fury" from the White House occupant might eventually result in grave damage to US security.

The list of instances of Kennedy temper tantrums lengthens, but the above two cases, well known on Capitol Hill, have developed a deep sense of alarm in members of both parties. No longer do members of Congress regard the phenomenon as a pardonable foible of a young President; it looms as an ugly and dangerous factor in the handling of public policy.

California: The California primary proved that all is not well with the Democrats in the Golden State.

Pat Brown won renomination for Governor on the Democratic ticket, but still couldn't pull more than the combined total of the Nixon-Shell vote in a state where Democrats out-register Republicans three-to-two. Two bond issues Brown counted on also failed to pass—a sign that California citizens are fed up with the vast Democratic spending which Nixon has vowed to slice if he wins the governorship.

California pros, however, say that, despite Democratic troubles, Nixon will have to play Casanova to the conservative wing of his party if he expects to best Brown in November. The former Vice President won nearly two-thirds of the GOP primary vote, but politicos close to Nixon claim he must hold 90 per cent of the Republican vote in order to win in the fall.

Despite contrary reports in the eastern press, the John Birchers made an impressive showing in the campaign. Two Birch Society members, Representatives John Rousselot and Edgar Hiestand, were renominated handily on the GOP ticket. Another Bircher, H. L. Richardson, swept the GOP primary for congressman in the newly carved 29th District. Max Rafferty, considered a Birch sympathizer, led the field for the statewide office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

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Will conservatives come across for Nixon? Yes, say many just back from California, but it will take considerable wooing. Shell is playing a role reverse of Rockefeller's in the 1960 Presidential race. Despite appeals from GOP leaders—among them National Committee Chairman William E. Miller—Shell is waiting for Nixon to make a deal with conservatives before he extends his blessings. If Nixon hopes to win, it appears he will have to come across with some conservative bacon.

• Hiestand, a 100-per-cent conservative, won the Republican nomination in the 27th District with ease. The outcome of a tremendous write-in campaign to make him the Democratic nominee remains uncertain because of the slow computation of write-in votes. However, the Democratic party machine, becoming alarmed over Hiestand's write-in chances, consolidated its support behind Los Angeles Councilman Everett Burkhalter who got 22,500 votes, thus diminishing chances for a Hiestand victory.

Billie Sol Whitewash: In what the Republicans are calling a blatant attempt to whitewash and cover up the Billie Sol Estes case—with its dynamite-laden potential of involving big names in the Democratic Party—the Democratic-controlled House subcommittee investigating the scandal last week fired minority counsel Robert H. Manuel.

In a statement issued just before HUMAN EVENTS went to press, Manuel charged he had been fired because of his attempt to get to the bottom of the Billie Sol Estes scandal—an effort the Democrats did not seem too eager to pursue. Manuel charged that the subcommittee, chaired by Representative L. H. Fountain (D.-N.C.), had "not done the fundamental things essential to a fair and thorough investigation."

Manuel stated he privately interviewed the chief of the warehousing branch of the Agriculture Department, Carl J. Miller, and Miller told him "in no uncertain terms" that Billie Sol Estes had sought to pressure him by invoking the names of Sam Rayburn (alive at the time) and Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

But when Miller appeared at Fountain subcommittee public hearings a few days later and was pressed on the matter by minority member Florence Dwyer (R.-N.J.), he used the names of Rayburn and Senator Ralph Yarborough, omitting LBJ. When asked after the session why he omitted the name of the Vice President, Manuel said Miller "admitted this and seemed remorseful, but offered no explanation of why he changed his story."

Frustrated by the Fountain subcommittee's lack of action on the big scandal, Manuel leaked the contents of the incriminating Agriculture Department report on Estes to the press. For this he was fired. But the Democrats leak information constantly to pet newspapers.

• Farm area Representative Ralph Beermann (R.-Neb.) last week added the charge that the Administration is "brazenly using the scandal as an argument for its totalitarian farm bill, which it is trying to ram down the throats of Congress and the farmers themselves." Beermann explained the Administration argues that, if the bill is passed, there will be a reduction in wheat and feed grain production, a reduction in grain storage costs and, thus, a diminishing opportunity for Estes-like operations to take hold.

But the Nebraskan pointed out that under JFK's farm bill allotment permits to plant cotton, feed grain and wheat will have a high market value and that the struggle to get allotments—which will be handed out by bureaucrats—will intensify. (In short, there will be more money bait for operators like Estes.) Beermann warned of "many more Billie Sol Estes scandals if the Administration farm bill is enacted."

"No-Win" Speech: As part of the Administration's campaign to counterattack conservative charges the New Frontier is following a "no-win" Cold War policy, Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland last week delivered one of the classic no-winners of the year.

In an address before the New School for Social Research in New York City, Cleveland attacked the conservative position's "illusion that foreign policy issues are comfortably two-sided, that we're either up or we're down, and that something called victory can be something called total." Cleveland dismissed the threat of world communism by stating: "We see new leaders of communism facing with realism the fact that their old dream of a Communist one world is an obsolete and therefore perilous delusion."

Commenting on the Cleveland speech, Senator Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) told HUMAN EVENTS: "Unless Mr. Cleveland is in the confidence of the Red leaders I do not know how he could have made this statement. Everything that the Communist leaders have said and done for 45 long years makes clear their persistent drive to complete 'world revolution.' If Mr. Cleveland's is the sort of thinking that is going on in high places in the government, it is no wonder this year we are defending Thailand instead of holding Laos, and trying to meet Communist threats in Latin America emanating from Cuba, instead of eliminating communism inside Cuba."

Red Trade: Democrats and Republicans in both the House and Senate last week tossed a king-sized haymaker at the Administration's plans to expand trade and aid to the Communist bloc.

The Senate, voting on an amendment (submitted by Ohio Democrat Frank Lausche) to the foreign aid authorization bill, decided 57-24 to cut off all American aid to Soviet bloc countries, including Poland and Yugoslavia. Both these countries have been considered apart from the bloc by the Admin-

CARROLL TILLMAN, Columnist, The Cranston Herald, **Cranston, Rhode Island:** "I cannot tell you how much we cherish HUMAN EVENTS in this office. Your work is full of clarity, impact and timeliness."

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istration in the past and have received large amounts of US aid.

Thirty-four Democrats joined with 23 Republicans in voting for the Lausche amendment in the face of a special plea from the Administration against approval. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) read a statement by a special assistant to the President, McGeorge Bundy, which asked the Senate not to tie the President's hands in the giving of aid to Soviet satellites.

Despite later modifications of the Lausche amendment, to permit food shipments to bloc countries, it is generally agreed that the Senate's action was a stinging slap at the Administration for attempting to step up aid to Communist countries.

A few days earlier, the House Ways and Means Committee had also dealt a blow to the Administration's attempts (as revealed in the famous Ball report) to expand trade with Communist countries. Two Republicans, John W. Byrnes (Wis.) and Steven Derounian (N.Y.), amended the Administration's trade bill to keep up the barriers against relaxation of trade with Communist bloc countries, including Poland and Yugoslavia.

Swiss View: HUMAN EVENTS correspondent in Zurich writes about the US financial crisis and market drop: "Big businessmen and banks in Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland decided last November that there would be no dramatic inflation in the free world and began to sell sizable blocks of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange; they sold 'scientifically' so as not to create a wave of sales, for they did not want to cause a panic in Wall Street.

"However, President Kennedy's intervention in the steel price hike caused a much greater disturbance among the European banking and investment community than was allowed to appear openly in press accounts.

"These European investors read between the lines of the dispatches from Washington and decided that, as one of them said to your correspondent, 'young and inexperienced economic theoreticians around the White House, like Walter Heller, had free rein and were setting out to put their visionary Utopia into effect in the greatest and most powerful country in the world.' Hence, big European investors rushed to sell and were followed by many small fry, the latter contributing the panic psychology to the recent Kennedy crash.

"Now, after the big drops in the market, Swiss bankers continue very worried about the rise in US government spending and the swelling of the US federal debt. They are impressed by the recent speech of Senator Harry Byrd in which he estimated the American debt at $1.2 trillion; Swiss economists have checked this figure and consider it accurate.

"The Swiss bankers deem taxes in the US dangerously high and burdensome. One of them said to your correspondent: 'Taxes are altogether too high in your country. One of the reasons why Europe has recovered financially so quickly after the war has been that the effective tax rates have been low and thus the consuming power of the Western Europeans has increased and continues to do so. America must revamp its whole spending and tax structure as soon as possible.' "

Capitol Camera: The New Frontier last week suffered another clear-cut defeat in a primary, this time in Mississippi. The reapportionment caused by the loss of one House seat had thrown two incumbent Democratic Representatives, Jamie Whitten and Frank Smith, into the same District. Whitten won the nomination by better than a three-to-two margin. Engaged in what the UPI called "the hottest Mississippi race in a decade," Whitten lambasted JFK throughout, telling the voters: "We need a man in Washington who will stand up to the President." Loser Smith is a good friend of JFK's.

• *Cuban exiles say the State Department's Latin American crowd is grooming left-winger Manolo Ray to head the US-backed Cuban Revolutionary Council. A socialist, identified with the slogan "Fidelism with Fidel," Ray was booted out of leadership of his own anti-Castro party, the MRP, July* 10, 1961 . *He is considered a good friend of Teodoro Moscoso, head of the Alliance for Progress program, and is reported to have the backing of Richard N. Goodwin, the young, highly influential Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American affairs.*

• The recent flip-flop by the Washington *Post,* in which that liberal paper editorially called for government tax action along lines suggested by the NAM-backed Baker-Herlong bill, startled many in Washington. The reason seems to be that Henry C. Wallich, a Yale economics professor who served on Ike's Council of Economic Advisers, writes economics editorials for the *Post.*

• *In Washington last week to attend the Georgetown University graduation of his son, comedian Bob Hope tossed off some digs regarding the JFK-inspired stock slump. Quipped Hope: "The price of Steel was so low, I hear President Kennedy was buying some. And AT&T—I put a dime in a telephone this morning and a voice said,'God bless you.' "*

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50; 3 months $3.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Bound Volume indexed: First six months, 1961, $15. Second six months, 1961, $15. 1956 and 1960 Bound Volumes, $20. Dateline Washington: The Best of HUMAN EVENTS, 1955 — 1960 $15.

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

Patriotism is easy to understand in America. It means looking out for yourself by looking out for your country.

—President Calvin Coolidge

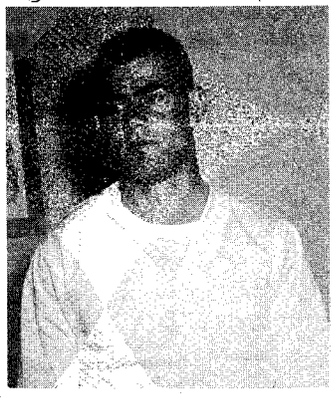
Vol. XIX, No. 24—Section II June 16, 1962

Sailor Sued Over Cotton Crop Rule

From the San Diego [Calif.] Evening Tribune

A recruit at Naval Training Center found out today how tough it is to solve the Nation's farm program.

Lindsey C. Sawyer, 19, of Portland, Arkansas, was told the government is suing him to collect $52.38 as a penalty for overplanting of a cotton allotment.



SAWYER

The Associated Press in Little Rock reported that the government so far has spent $61.10 to inform him about the suit.

The $61.10 was listed as official expenses for deputy marshals who made two round trips of 300 miles each from Little Rock to Portland to serve court papers on Sawyer.

On their first trip deputies discovered that Sawyer had enlisted in the Navy January 8. They were sent back to serve papers on his mother, Mrs. Iva Sawyer, yesterday.

"I thought I had that all straightened out before I left," Sawyer said here.

"I planted a fraction of an acre over my five-acre cotton allotment, but bad weather and the boll weevil ruined the crop and we couldn't pick any cotton," he said.

Sawyer said the penalty would have applied to the yield from his cotton crop, but since he was unable to harvest the crop, he figured there would be no problem.

"I talked to the government people about this and explained it. If they say I owe them a penalty it is not right," he said.

"It's not worth it to go to court so I might tell my mother to pay it for that reason. If I wanted justice, I wouldn't pay it," he said.

Sawyer said he joined the Navy because farming was "no good any more" and he wanted to take advantage of the Navy program that will give him electrical training.

Sawyer's father, who died two years ago, was in the Navy during World War II. An older brother also served in the Navy until recently. He said they were an influence in his choice.

"I'm just a poor boy and joined the Navy to go to school. I love the Navy. This is the life," Sawyer said.

ORGANIZED VIA COMPULSION—" . . . John Livingston, our director of organization, says, and rightly so, that we have in the last period organized 1,500,000 people. That is not the true picture. We have organized them because we compelled them, through closed-shop agreements and union-shop agreements, to get in line. We didn't organize them. Our contracts organized them. That's the honest truth and it cannot be denied." (*Transport Workers Union chief Mike Quill to the AFL-CIO Convention in Miami Beach, Florida, December 7-13, 1961, published proceedings*)

Maybe This Will Be the Next Step

Prizewinning Essayist to Attend HUMAN EVENTS Conference

The winner of an essay contest open to junior and senior high school students in Cameron County, Texas, will receive an all-expense-paid trip to the Fourth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference. The Flynn Investment Company of Harlingen, Texas, will pay the bill; the subject of the essay is "US Sovereignty and World Government."

The contest winner will report on the Conference to local service clubs upon his or her return to Texas.

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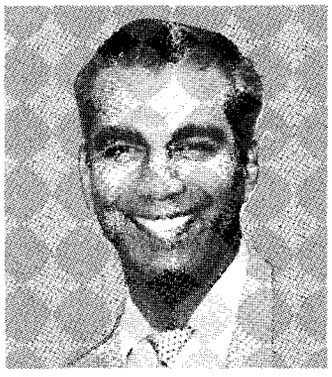
We Aid Jagan—It Had to Happen

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

WELL, IT HAD TO HAPPEN sooner or later. Cheddi Jagan, who paid an "unofficial" visit to Washington last fall, apparently is about to collect the $200 million he requested from good ol' Uncle Sam.

Jagan, the present Prime Minister of British Guiana (promised full independence in the near future), is an avowed Marxist, booted out of office by the British in 1953 because he allowed the Communists to rule the country. This is the fellow who said on May 3, 1953: "But when the PPP [Jagan's party] gets into power, the same bullets which were fired upon the poor people will be fired on our oppressors [*i.e.*, the British]."



JAGAN

(The British, of course, are oppressive. In their brutal, colonial way, they allowed this same gentleman who had threatened once to shoot them to assume power again in 1961. And, last February, the English oppressors sent 500 troops into British Guiana to quell a mass riot which threatened to topple the enlightened Cheddi.)

There would seem to be little doubt that Cheddi is an agent of the Communists. A British commission has branded him as an "enthusiastic" supporter of communism; Cheddi, himself, has publicly embraced the teachings of Castro and hailed both Chinese and Russian Communists. Even the State Department—the US State Department, saints preserve us!—tagged him as a "pro-Communist" agent in a 1960 intelligence report (No. 4489 R-12). His gentle wife Janet joined the Communist Youth League in her innocent school days at the University of Chicago. And, says Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.), the tender little homebody has been described to him by authoritative sources as the "director of the Communist terror apparatus in British Guiana."

A background like that, of course, isn't going to stop a body from getting a fair share of the "Alliance for Progress" program. No, sir. And so a State Department economic planning "team"—paid for out of foreign aid funds—sauntered down to British Guiana recently to tell Cheddi just how to spend the money we plan to give him.

"We would have given it before," said a State Department spokesman, "but he didn't know how to spend the money wisely."

So to help a Marxist spend his money wisely the State Department appointed Harry Hoffman, editor of the Charleston, West Virginia, *Gazette,* as head of the team. Representative Arch Moore (R.-W. Va.) claims the *Gazette* is "far out liberal—ADA type." (The paper thumped for Adlai Stevenson to head the Democratic ticket in 1960, holding its liberal breath to the last.)

What are Hoffman's qualifications for telling Cheddi how to spend our dough? Well, said the above mentioned State Department spokesman, his strong point is that he's interested in "social problems." And he's from "West Virginia which has problems similar to British Guiana."

(The main social problem in British Guiana concerns the racial strife between East Indians and Africans. What similarity there is between this problem and those problems in West Virginia is anybody's guess.)

"Does he have a degree in economics?" I asked.

"I don't know," said the State Department source wistfully.

A spokesman for the *Gazette* said Hoffman definitely did not have an economics degree and had written largely on local affairs. "Not national?" I queried. "Very rarely," he said. Just the type to do an expert analysis of British Guiana, no doubt.

All of this, of course, has its rather light side, but I can't help adding a grim note. A communized Guiana —as Senator Dodd has warned—would soon become a launching place for Red subversion and guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America. And our money would finance the operation.

Urban Blight, Not Renewal

By Howard E. Kershner, Editor, in Christian Economics

Highway construction and urban renewal are forcing the relocation of many thousands of small businesses every year. Many of them never reopen their doors because they cannot find a satisfactory location at a rental they can afford to pay. Such proprietors are forced to work for others, if they can find jobs, to go on relief or retire prematurely. The number of small businesses forced to relocate is to be vastly increased, for last year's appropriation to the urban renewal agency has been increased by $2 billion, or about six times the average amount this agency has been spending for the last 12 years.

In the long run our cities will not benefit from this type of subsidized, forced-construction program. As the burden of taxation becomes heavier and heavier, urban blight will spread. New substandard areas will be created faster than urban renewal can reconstruct them.

This program is very similar to the practice of a doctor who would take blood from a patient's left arm while giving him a transfusion in the right arm. In the process, of course, he spills or wastes a portion of the blood and the patient grows weaker and weaker.

Financing local operations from Washington is the most expensive way to accomplish them. Not only is there a substantial bureaucratic loss but there is great wastefulness on the part of the municipalities because the local fathers, intrigued by the idea of something for nothing—that the money does not cost anything, are overtempted to splurge. Most people recognize these facts but accept the situation without much resistance because the other fellow is getting benefits and they might as well get theirs. That attitude will destroy us.

Urban renewal, like other forms of government intervention in the business activities of the people, is Marxism. Its object is redistribution of wealth. Its result is wider impoverishment along with the destruction of freedom. It is one of the tools by which Marxists deceive good people and induce them to speed up the process of their own communization.

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QUESTIONS *of the Week*

QUESTION—How much is the pre-World War II dollar worth now?

ANSWER—The dollar that was worth 100 cents in 1939, the year World War II began, has declined in value almost every year since. As of March, 1962, it was worth 46.1 cents.

* * *

QUESTION—If all profits were given to the worker, how much could wages and salaries be increased?

ANSWER—Joe Crail's Coast Federal Savings in Los Angeles, after studying the statistical reports of the Departments of Commerce and Labor, replies as follows:

"If all the dividends from business capital were confiscated from the millions of Americans who are risking their savings by investing and the amount of dividends were instead paid to the workers, the workers' salaries would be increased less than 5 per cent (from $279.2 billion to $292.8 billion).

"If the $13.6 billion in dividends were distributed to the 68,449,000 civilian labor force the amount per person would be only $4 per week—and then if no dividends were paid, who would put up the capital to build the factories and buy the machinery to provide jobs?"

Former Arizona Senator Henry F. Ashurst and Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.).

Ashurst's 'Last Will'

Henry F. Ashurst, who died May 31, served in the US Senate from the time Arizona became a state in 1912 to 1941. A life-long Democrat, the 87-year-old Ashurst left this "last will and testament" to the American people:

"A bird can't fly with two left wings. Republicans should stop trying to outspend Democrats. In fact, Democrats should stop trying to outspend Democrats."

Polls vs JFK's Power

Congressman O. C. Fisher of San Angelo, Texas, who has been in Congress since 1943, is a representative of the 21st Congressional District of Texas.

Fisher and Congressman John Dowdy of the 7th Texas District are the two most conservative Democratic congressmen in Texas, though neither is as conservative as Republican Bruce Alger.

Congressman Fisher mailed questionnaires on 24 issues to his constituents and got back 15,000 responses —"an unusually high percentage of responses and bespeaking the extraordinary interest in the affairs of government on the part of the people who reside in the District."

The results of the questionnaires are typical of those which are being tabulated by congressmen. If congressmen were free to vote as they wished, it is easy to see what they would do to the President's program. But JFK makes FDR look like an amateur when it comes to using government pressures and coercion for the purpose of compelling congressmen to do his bidding.

It raises the issue: What is happening to freedom when the Executive Branch of the government can use the power granted to it by the people and the tax monies collected from the people to intimidate and coerce the people?

Red Aid and Trade

"It makes no more sense to strengthen the economic potential of our cold war Communist enemies than to arm them, and yet the House committee investigating the problem of trade with Communist nations has found glaring instances where we have economically strengthened countries in the Soviet bloc." This is the conclusion of Congressman Tom V. Moorhead of Ohio's 15th District in this week's *Congressional Interview.* Moorhead points out that many existing embargoes are practically meaningless because of transshipment of strategic materials, and other efforts are useless due to some definitions of "strategic goods and materials." This interview sheds considerable light on a problem of vital importance to every American and to the entire free world.

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The Estes Hoax

From the Memphis Commercial Appeal

What is truly extraordinary is that Estes was getting tax money for storing farm surpluses, which he was using to expand a fertilizer business in growing more surpluses to be paid for with more taxes. It was an endless belt. Estes took his toll going and collected again coming. . . .

If taxes are being used for the announced purpose of reducing farm surpluses but actually for increasing the surpluses a giant hoax has been perpetrated on the whole public. . . .

The really big question of the Estes case is what is going to be done about the method that opened the United States Treasury vaults to Estes and others.

WHAT'S THAT AGAIN?—" 'Capitalism has become a dirty word because it is synonymous with selfishness.' —Statement to American newspaper publishers by Robert F. Kennedy, US Attorney General, brother of the President and capitalist by several million dollars through inheritance." (*newsletter of Congressman Richard L. Roudebush, Indiana Republican*)

Mrs Lucille C. Hosmer
California Federation
of Republican Women

Mrs Norman C. Armitage
South Carolina Federation
of Republican Women's Clubs

Katherine Kennedy Brown
National Republican
Committeewoman, Ohio

Mrs Catherine May
4th Congressional Dist
Washington

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is one of more than two dozen topics to be discussed at the

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July 13—14, 1962 Washington D.C.

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In addition to the three members of this panel, several other women will be featured on the program, including Catherine May. Mrs. May, first Congresswoman from the state of Washington, will speak at a special session honoring women in politics.

Among the other principal speakers at this Conference will be: Senators Barry Goldwater, Harry Byrd, and John Tower; Congressmen William Jennings Bryan Dorn, John Anderson, John Ashbrook, Donald Bruce, Edward Derwinski, and John Rousselot; and other outstanding authorities on matters concerned with victory in the 1962 Congressional elections.

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Executive Power vs. Public Interest

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

I SUGGEST that we oppose, as strenuously as we possibly can, the extension of executive power. And I suggest we do this "in the public interest" and for the protection of the "general welfare."

Now, let me remind you that we who call ourselves conservative have long warned of the dangers contained in the concentration of power in the hands of the federal government. In this, we have been frustrated too often by those who argued that the mere existence of power was not perilous, that responsible men in the Executive Branch could be depended upon to use that power judiciously and carefully. Through the years, these advocates of centralization have always scoffed at the idea that federal power, once built up in unanswerable proportions, would eventually be exercised in a dictatorial fashion. They accused the conservatives of crying alarm where there was no cause for alarm. They said the founding fathers, who regarded big government as dangerous and guarded against it in the Constitution, could not forsee the complexities into which our society would move.

When you stop to consider how easily this phrase "public interest" can be tailored to almost any situation by a glib executive, I believe you begin to understand the frightening aspect of what has happened. The domestic economy is a very broad proposition. Any facet of it could conceivably be related to the "public interest" if such a relationship should happen to fit in with the objectives of the economic planners of the New Frontier. Take steel, for example. While it is an important and basic industry, it still generates only about two per cent of the gross national product. In 1960, I believe, it ranked 32nd among 41 manufacturing industries on the basis of profit as measured by return on net assets. So, if an industry comprising only two per cent of the gross national product can be said to gravely affect the national interest by raising its prices, you can see for yourselves how an antagonistic federal government can reduce the "public interest" to suit itself.

There is no law on the books which says the President shall have the power to fix prices. There was no request from industry spokesmen that the government help them, out of its bureaucratic wisdom, to decide what they should charge for their product. There was no existing supply emergency that warranted extreme executive action.

There were none of these things. There was only an executive will, backed by the police powers of the federal bureaucracy, to bring about a stated condition in the economic system. And this will was used to force—to compel—to intimidate in a fashion usually associated with totalitarian states.

You can't staff a new administration with liberal professors, labor union officials and theorists from Americans for Democratic Action and expect it to adopt a strong line for business freedom. Fundamentally, the advisors to whom the president listens have long been on the side of more and more government interference with and control of the free enterprise system. As Scripps-Howard writer Henry J. Taylor wrote recently, the White House brain-trusters "bring less conficence to business than Jesse James brought to a bank." And I don't care what kind or how many verbal reassurances you businessmen get from government officials. So long as the President listens to the left-wing radicals in his administration, the business community is in trouble.

FREEDOM TODAY—as always—is dependent upon government confinement, for freedom can only be drained away through concentration of authority. This is not always realized by the American people until the accumulated authority is unleashed in a spectacular way. It happened during the "incredible week," and, as a result, I believe more people today understand why our forefathers, the framers of the American Constitution, distrusted government. Those hardy forebears of ours knew from experience that government is necessary and good if kept within proper limits. But they also knew that by its very nature, it was potentially dangerous. They knew that government, in its application, is force—whether used for good or for evil.

And, this being the case, our forefathers took out insurance against the concentration and misuse of authority. They laid the groundwork for the actual pursuit and practice of individual freedom in the development of a society and a nation. They started with the assumption that men are endowed by God with certain rights and privileges and that government's only proper role should be in the protection of those rights. They rejected entirely the theory that man's rights stem from authority—the state—and proceeded to build in our Constitution something new and different in the way of governmental charters.

The novelty of the American Constitution was contained in those provisions which stated, specifically, that certain institutions and human relations were to be left outside the authority of government. They actually forbade the government to infringe or violate those areas.

Actually, I don't believe it is generally realized just how much President Kennedy has asked for in the form of new and greater executive power. These requests have been arriving on Capitol Hill in bits and pieces—scattered through dozens of Presidential messages on all conceivable subjects.

And when you add them all up, you find the operating blueprint for a planned American economy—an economy manipulated by government and directed from Washington—an economy in which the major decisions are relegated to theorists and bureaucrats—an economy in which the natural laws of supply and demand will play an ever-smaller role in the business life of the nation.

This is the direction in which we are headed. And I'm not talking about the distant future. I'm talking about the immediate future. This planned economy is already beginning to take definite shape. The mobilization of powers needed is well underway. The masterminds of the plan are the members of the President's Council of Economic Advisors—Walter Heller, James Tobin and Kermit Gordon, all former economics professors whose job it is to shape wage and price policies, influence spending and fix economic "guidelines" and productivity formulas. The operators of the plan are Labor Secretary Goldberg, Commerce Secretary Hodges and Treasury Secretary Dillon. The enforcers are Attorney General Kennedy Defense

This article consists of extracts from a speech by Senator Goldwater at the annual dinner of the American Iron and Steel Institute in New York City, May 24, 1962.

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Secretary McNamara and Agriculture Secretary Freeman.

NOW THE POWERS presently held by the President, great as they are, won't quite do the job the way the planners see it. That's why the Administration is seeking vast new federal powers in almost every important economic field. The President is in actual fact asking for more power than any President has ever held when the country was not engaged in an all-out shooting war. He wants, for example, the power to change tax rates without the approval of Congress; the power to influence the supply and cost of money through his own chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; the power to launch massive new public works programs on his own initiative; the power to cut tariffs on a huge unprecedented scale; the power to exercise more control over agriculture; the power to extend federal influence into local communities.

Figure it out. What happens when the White House is given standby authority to cut personal income taxes by as much as five percentage points? The changes presumably would be made when the White House manipulators decide that business conditions require a shift in rates. And where is the economist regardless of how many university degrees he holds, who is qualified to decide some bright morning that taxes should be reduced to stimulate consumer spending? Of course, there is no certainty that a sudden stimulus to consumer spending would come at the right time. Nobody knows when a recession has run its course or when another one is about to begin. Economists always disagree and so do businessmen.

But think of what this could do to business planning. Nobody could ever be sure how much taxes they might have to pay in a given year. And I would also remind you that if the President is given the power to lower tax rates without the approval of Congress, the next step will be to seek the power to raise taxes at the White House level. The power to tax is the power to destroy and this has been proven time and again throughout history. It is much too great a power to entrust to a tiny handful of government planners who deal in theory and have never had the practical experience of meeting a payroll.

In the public works field the President would like Congress to abdicate its responsibility over appropriations and give him the right to spend billions of dollars on undefined public works, wherever he sees fit. Wrapped up in this program of the Administration's is more spending power than Congress has ever before been asked to delegate for such purposes.

Another power request by the President that deserves special attention is tied up in legislation to let the Chief Executive name his own Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Now this sounds like an innocent enough request, at least to the layman. It isn't generally understood that

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Goldwater Defines SOB

"I have no fear of the steel industry or of 'tiny handfuls' of responsible executives—or of SOB's, for that matter. Of course, I assume that your understanding of SOB is the same as mine and that the letters stand for men who are determined to SAVE OUR BUSINESS. And, believe me, there is need today for men who understand what is going on in this nation and who are devoted to and willing to fight for the free enterprise system."

Congress has delegated to the Federal Reserve Board great powers to fix monetary values on the assumption that the Board will remain independent. But if the Board should come under political domination by an administration that wanted easy money the Reserve could make 100 million dollars available in new credit.

These powers sought by the Executive Branch are too great. They are not in the national interest. They are in the interest only of regimentation of more and more areas of our society and our economy. They are designed to make a powerful executive more powerful. They do violence to the Constitution and to the concept of individual freedom and limited government.

But I believe they can be defeated with the help of the American people. I believe the key issue now and in the months directly ahead of us is the question of power.

Are we to believe that the New Frontier can be exempted from Lord Acton's famous adage that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely? I don't believe we can exempt any administration or any government from that adage. Right now in Washington we are seeing a situation unfold where the government's authority in the field of agriculture has spawned corruption on a vast scale. The Billie Sol Estes case, I suggest, is an indictment of the Welfare State and the concept that the Federal government should be given authority over entire segments of the national economy. The only wonder is that more Welfare State "Ponzis" have not been uncovered. The vast and growing ramifications of bureaucratic management of business-type operations lend themselves naturally to the machinations of men like Estes. This case alone provides an eloquent argument against the further extension of government spending powers.

LET ME IMPRESS upon you that the steel industry's "incredible week" cannot be regarded as an isolated incident in the relationship of government and business. It was rather the culmination of a long period of jousting between those who believe in the untrammelled operation of the free enterprise system and those who would have the government manage and direct it.

It doesn't take a mere United States Senator to tell you that your industry and the entire free enterprise system have taken a terrific pounding. But I am convinced that the end result has its brighter side. It has shown the business community where it stands with an administration devoted to social and economic regimentation. It has shown the American people how concentrated power in the hands of the federal government can be abused. It has focused attention on attempts by the Executive Branch to increase and extend its authority in every sphere of American economic life.

And it has made clear the need for every person interested in freedom and the American private enterprise system to enlist full time in the struggle to prevent further concentration of power in the federal government. This can only be done by electing to the Congress men and women who believe in our system, who aren't bemused by Presidential prestige, and who are willing to fight for the preservation of the things that have made America great and will help her to grow greater.

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	COMPULSORY QUOTAS %	LAND RETIREMENT %	GOV'T. CLEAR OUT %
Connecticut	0	16	84
Delaware	0	45	55
Maine	0	37	63
Maryland	2	35	63
Massachusetts	2	27	71
New Hampshire	0	41	59
New Jersey	6	29	65
New York	3	38	59
Pennsylvania	1	30	69
Rhode Island	11	11	78
Vermont	2	38	60
West Virginia	1	25	74
EASTERN	**2**	**32**	**66**
Illinois	4	50	46
Indiana	1	48	51
Iowa	7	68	25
Kansas	2	47	51
Michigan	2	46	52
Minnesota	7	53	40
Missouri	3	54	43
Nebraska	6	57	37
North Dakota	9	55	36
Ohio	2	37	61
South Dakota	7	48	45
Wisconsin	6	48	46
CENTRAL	**4**	**51**	**45**
Alabama	2	47	51
Florida	6	40	54
Georgia	6	50	44
Kentucky	11	59	30
Mississippi	0	52	48
North Carolina	8	46	46
South Carolina	6	47	47
Tennessee	6	51	43
Virginia	4	39	57
SOUTHEASTERN	**6**	**48**	**46**
Arkansas	2	39	59
Louisiana	2	42	56
New Mexico	0	42	58
Oklahoma	1	40	59
Texas	5	31	64
SOUTHWESTERN	**3**	**36**	**61**
Arizona	3	8	89
California	3	26	71
Colorado	6	35	59
Idaho	2	43	55
Montana	4	35	61
Nevada	0	10	90
Oregon	2	41	57
Utah	2	49	49
Washington	2	34	64
Wyoming	3	28	69
WESTERN	**3**	**33**	**64**
U.S. TOTAL	**4%**	**44%**	**52%**

Farm Journal Poll Shows

Nation's Farmers Oppose Tighter Controls, Quotas

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IF THOSE *Farm Journal* readers who wrote us are typical, the nation's farmers are overwhelmingly opposed to tighter controls and compulsory quotas on what they raise.

Only 4 per cent—4 out of 100—who voted in *Farm Journal's* March poll favored a compulsory quota program (the main ingredient of the Administration's farm plan).

Of our readers responding, 44 per cent voted for an expanded voluntary land-retirement program. And 52 per cent voted to get the government clear out.*

We were deluged with ballots—50,000 in the first two weeks; and still coming. In order to get the results in time for this issue of *Farm Journal,* we could count only 10,000 ballots. We took these as they arrived, in proportion to the number of subscribers by states.

Altogether, 27 *Farm Journal* people spent 750 man-hours opening, sorting and counting these 10,000 ballots. One person, working alone, would need nearly two years to handle 50,000 ballots. We will put a crew on it and promptly open and count all ballots and read every letter.

How the US Voted

1. Compulsory government quotas on what I could sell, or how much land I could farm; stiff penalties, support prices at, or above, present levels. **4%**
2. Expanded voluntary land-retirement program to cut crop production; no compulsory quotas or allotments; with supports on crops at a level to stabilize markets but not add to surpluses. **44%**
3. Get the government clear out—no controls, no price supports. **52%**

The results from this poll check closely with previous polls by *Farm Journal.* In 1957 we offered four farm program choices; and in 1959, five. In 1957, 50 per cent voted to get the government out; in 1959, 55 per cent voted that way; this year 52 per cent.

The 4 per cent return for compulsory quotas is the lowest vote for any of the choices over the three years.

Among the five *Farm Journal* editions, Eastern readers gave the smallest vote to quotas, and the largest vote to getting the government clear out. Quotas mustered a bit of support in parts of the western Corn Belt and in Kentucky.

The voluntary land-retirement program did best in the Central states (51 per cent) and poorest in the East (32 per cent).

Among commodity groups, the land-retirement program pulled the most votes among hog raisers—and got the small-

(*continued on next page*)

* These two percentages became 43 and 53, respectively, after tabulation of all ballots received by the *Farm Journal.*

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(*continued from preceding page*)

est percentage from poultrymen and fruit and vegetable growers.

Poultrymen, who certainly have been in trouble, and for whom the government is talking about national marketing orders, gave the highest vote for getting the government out entirely—70 per cent. Tobacco growers are least inclined —33 per cent—to have the government step out completely. They've had the most government (compulsory quotas) of anybody.

Among states, Iowans gave the smallest vote—25 per cent —to getting the government out. This was also true in 1959 when 24 per cent of the Iowans voted that way.

Young farmers are more opposed to compulsory quotas than older operators; otherwise, age didn't make much difference:

Age	Quotas	Land Retirement	Gov't. Out
29 and under	2%	47%	51%
30—39	4	46	50
40—49	4	46	50
50—59	5	42	53
60 plus	4	41	55

Many took time to write letters explaining their choices. A large number who wrote were young farmers and "small" operators who objected to a quota system that would tie them to their present size.

"Quotas wouldn't give a starting farmer a chance; he'd have no prospects of expanding," says Robert Pfeil of South Dakota.

"The big operator would have more of a monopoly than he already has," thinks Noel Sorensen of Idaho.

Many dairymen complained bitterly about quotas. "I'm a young man who has been struggling along. Now that I have a young dairy started with my sons, they want to tell us we can't farm it because we didn't have a milk quota for 1961," says Donald Carey of New York.

Several of those who voted to get the government out thought that if this were done the CCC shouldn't dump its surpluses on the market. Others admitted that it might be "rough" for a time. "I might be the first to go," wrote L. McGinnis of Alabama, "but somewhere down the line we'd stabilize. I'm willing to bet a lifetime's work that I can knock heads with the hobby farmers and come out on top. I am eager for a try."

Many of those writing in support of compulsory quotas say that it's the only way to get rid of the surplus, and they agree with L. H. Kuhle of Illinois that farm programs won't work without controls. "What other business doesn't regiment its production to stay in line with demand?" says Jay Triplett of Texas.

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EASTERN

WHAT DIFFERENT COMMODITY GROUPS WANT

KIND OF FARMERS *	COMPULSORY QUOTAS U.S. %	COMPULSORY QUOTAS EASTERN %	LAND RETIREMENT U.S. %	LAND RETIREMENT EASTERN %	GOV'T. CLEAR OUT U.S. %	GOV'T. CLEAR OUT EASTERN %
Beef	4	0	42	27	54	73
Dairy	4	3	44	36	52	61
Feed Grains	4	1	48	31	48	68
Fruit & Vegetables	3	4	31	31	66	65
General	2	0	35	34	63	66
Hogs	4	0	52	25	44	75
Poultry	3	2	27	20	70	78
Sheep	3	0	36	41	61	59
Wheat	4	0	44	39	52	61

CENTRAL

* Main crop or livestock

KIND OF FARMERS *	U.S. %	CENTRAL %	U.S. %	CENTRAL %	U.S. %	CENTRAL %
Beef	4	4	42	51	54	45
Dairy	4	4	44	48	52	48
Feed Grains	4	5	48	52	48	43
Fruit & Vegetables	3	4	31	43	66	53
General	2	3	35	48	63	49
Hogs	4	4	52	53	44	43
Poultry	3	3	27	46	70	51
Sheep	3	4	36	40	61	56
Wheat	4	4	44	48	52	48

SOUTHEASTERN

KIND OF FARMERS *	U.S. %	S-EAST %	U.S. %	S-EAST %	U.S. %	S-EAST %
Beef	4	4	42	43	54	53
Cotton	5	6	51	57	44	37
Dairy	4	7	44	53	52	40
Feed Grains	4	3	48	47	48	50
Fruit & Vegetables	3	0	31	24	66	76
General	2	5	35	37	63	58
Hogs	4	6	52	57	44	37
Peanuts	8	5	51	65	41	30
Poultry	3	9	27	31	70	60
Tobacco	13	15	54	56	33	29

SOUTHWESTERN

KIND OF FARMERS *	U.S. %	S-WEST %	U.S. %	S-WEST %	U.S. %	S-WEST %
Beef	4	3	42	35	54	62
Cotton	5	4	51	49	44	47
Dairy	4	3	44	48	52	49
Feed Grains	4	3	48	31	48	66
General	2	1	35	25	63	74
Hogs	4	2	52	31	44	67
Rice	7	7	33	32	60	61
Sheep	3	0	36	42	61	58
Wheat	4	0	44	40	52	60

WESTERN

KIND OF FARMERS *	U.S. %	WESTERN %	U.S. %	WESTERN %	U.S. %	WESTERN %
Beef	4	3	42	32	54	65
Cotton	5	6	51	39	44	55
Dairy	4	3	44	37	52	60
Feed Grains	4	1	48	35	48	64
Fruit & Vegetables	3	3	31	27	66	70
General	2	1	35	29	63	70
Hogs	4	0	52	27	44	73
Poultry	3	0	27	5	70	95
Sheep	3	0	36	25	61	75
Wheat	4	4	44	42	52	54

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Vol. XIX, No. 24—Section V

HUMAN EVENTS

June 16, 1962

Are Capitalists Cowardly— as Schlesinger Thinks?

By JAMES L. WICK

"I neither withdraw nor apologize" was the answer of Special Presidential Assistant Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., to a letter a few weeks ago from Henry J. Taylor.

The Scripps-Howard columnist wanted to find out whether Schlesinger still believed what he wrote in the May-June, 1947, issue of *Partisan Review*. Taylor knew that some men, however foolish they may have been in their youth, acquire wisdom as they get older. But Schlesinger's mind was still frozen.

Extracts from the now-famous article as well as more recent statements by Schlesinger are quoted on the next page.

Among these statements:

- "The classical argument against gradualism was that the capitalist ruling class would resort to violence rather than surrender its prerogatives."
- "Here as elsewhere, the Marxists enormously overestimated the political courage and will of the capitalists."
- "In fact, in the countries where capitalism really triumphed, it has yielded with far better grace (that is, displayed far more cowardice) than the Marxist schema predicted."
- "There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals."

The Marxists do have "allies" among capitalists who consider themselves anti-Socialists. These "allies" are the defeatists—persons who say to all who will listen: "It's no use. We're licked. After us, the deluge. Civilization is going down the drain and nothing can be done about it."

Men and women who talk this way are Marx's most effective agents, his finest salesmen. They poison the minds of those who want to resist the Socialist advance. They are socialism's fifth column.

An aide said Franco would win the Spanish Civil War because he had four columns marching on Madrid and a fifth column inside—demoralizing, weakening and disarming the enemy forces.

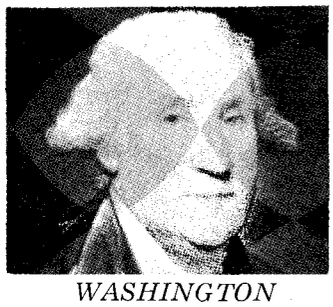
Fortunately, there still are patriots who believe in and are willing to fight for the philosophy of the Founding Fathers: limited constitutional government, states' rights, private enterprise, individual freedom.

Dedicated conservatives have their moments of discouragement, but they keep fighting because they have within them the spirit of George Washington at Valley Forge. In those bleak days when all seemed lost—soldiers were deserting in droves for lack of food, clothing and ammunition—a group of officers came to General Washington and said:

"We're defeated. Our army cannot win. If we keep on fighting, we will all be captured and hanged. But there is still time to escape. You can lead us and our families far west into the wilderness—so far away the Redcoats will not follow us. A new settlement can be formed. We will be safe. But we must flee—today."

Washington replied: "I see no more chance for victory than you do. The cause seems hopeless. But I cannot flee. However dim our chances, however impossible the outlook, I must fight on. I cannot do otherwise."

Ninety per cent of the inhabitants of the Thirteen Colonies agreed with the defeatist officers. But we have our freedoms today because there was a George Washington . . . and there were men willing to follow George Washington.



WASHINGTON

SCHLESINGER

If you want to take your place with the George Washingtons rather than with the cowardly fifth column defeatists, on whom the Socialist planners are counting, we suggest:

1. Attend the Fourth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference Friday and Saturday, July 13-14. Its theme is "How Conservatives can WIN in 1962." You will be among men and women who believe in victory and who are willing to make personal sacrifices to achieve it. Bring a delegation of fighters from your district. Write us for as many free four-page circulars describing the Conference as you need.

2. Get HUMAN EVENTS into the hands of as many conservative-minded persons as you can. Introduce HUMAN EVENTS to them with a five-week, $1 trial subscription. After they have read it for a few weeks, phone them urging that they (1) enter their own annual subscription; (2) send out five-week subscriptions to their friends, continuing the chain that you started.

3. Invite a dozen friends to your house. Tell them they are not being invited just to "talk." The objective is POLITICAL ACTION: to help elect a conservative; to persuade more people to write letters to congressmen; to write "letters to the editor." Tell each to hold his own house party so that ever-widening circles will engage in political action.

The New Frontier with its continuous grab for power cannot be stopped unless more and more people like yourself are enlisted in the fight.

> "It is precisely the job of men outside politics to prepare the way for the politician—to make it possible for him to advance new issues without inviting certain defeat. . . . If his position is right, it should only be a matter of time before he can convince enough people to make the issue politically feasible." (From Schlesinger's The Big Decision)

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What Schlesinger Said in 1947

Excerpts from the May-June, 1947, Partisan Review

Neither communism, with its despotism, nor capitalism, with its instability, nor fascism, with its combination of the two, provide attractive solutions to the problem of how to live with modern industry and the modern state. Is there another possibility? Has non-Communist, libertarian socialism a future? Abstracting the question for a moment from current political actualities, one must answer that there is no inherent reason why democratic socialism should not be possible.

If socialism (i.e., the ownership by the state of all significant means of production) is to preserve democracy, it must be brought about step by step in a way which will not disrupt the fabric of custom, law, and mutual confidence upon which personal rights depend. That is, the transition must be piecemeal; it must be parliamentary; it must respect civil liberties and due process of law.

Socialism by such means used to seem fantastic to the hard-eyed melodramatists of the Leninist persuasion; but even Stalin is reported to have told Harold Laski recently that it might be possible.

The classical argument against gradualism was that the capitalist ruling class would resort to violence rather than surrender its prerogatives. Here, as elsewhere, the Marxists enormously overestimated the political courage and will of the capitalists. In fact, in the countries where capitalism really triumphed, it has yielded with far better grace (that is, displayed far more cowardice) than the Marxist schema predicted.

The British experience is illuminating in this respect, and the American experience not uninstructive. There is no sign in either nation that the capitalists are putting up a really determined fight. Liberal alarmists who feel that the clamor of a political campaign or the agitation of hired lobbyists constitutes a determined fight should read the history of Germany.

In the United States an industrialist who turned a machine-gun on a picket line would be disowned by the rest of the business community; in Britain he would be sent to an insane asylum. Fascism arises in countries like Germany and Italy, Spain and Argentina, where the bourgeois triumph was never complete enough to eradicate other elements who believe in what the bourgeoisie fears more than anything else—violence, and who then used violence to "protect" the bourgeoisie.

There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals.

In 1933, Frances Perkins has reported, the coal operators pleaded with the government to nationalize the mines. They offered to sell "to the government at any price fixed by the government. Anything so we can get out of it." The government was not ready to take over the coal mines in 1933, as it was not ready to take over the banks, as it was not ready to keep the railroads in 1919.

But the New Deal greatly enlarged the reserves of trained personnel; the mobilization of industry during the war provided more experience; and the next depression will certainly mean a vast expansion in government ownership and control. The private owners will not only acquiesce in this. In characteristic capitalist panic, they will demand it.

Government ownership and control can take many forms. The independent public corporation, in the manner of TVA, is one; state and municipal ownership can exist alongside Federal ownership; the techniques of the cooperatives can be expanded; even the resources of regulation have not been fully tapped. The more varieties of ownership the better: Liberty gets more fresh air and sunlight through the interstices of a diversified society than through the close-knit grip of collectivism.

The recipe for retaining liberty is, not rationalization, but muddling through—a secret long known to the British who, as D. W. Brogan has put it, "change anything except the appearance of things."

Socialism, then, appears quite practicable within this frame of reference, as a long-term proposition. Its gradual advance might well preserve order and law, keep enough internal checks and discontinuities to guarantee a measure of freedom, and evolve new and real forms for the expression of democracy.

The active agents in effecting the transition will probably be, not the working class, but some combination of lawyers, business and labor managers, politicians, and intellectuals, in the manner of the first New Deal, or of the Labor government in Britain. . . .

Moreover, workers as a mass have rarely had the impulses attributed to them by Marxism. They too often believe in patriotism or religion, or read comic strips, go to movies, play slot machines and patronize taxi dance halls: in one way or another, they try to cure their discontent by narcotics rather than by surgery. Thus they are rarely swept by the proper mass emotions.

Reprints of this section are available: single copy, 15 cents; 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 125 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $20. Order by section number and date of issue.

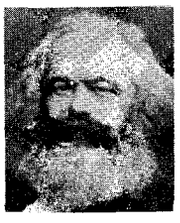
. . . and More Recently

In late 1960, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., wrote "for private circulation" a memorandum to a number of liberal leaders. It was entitled, "The Big Decision: Private Indulgence or National Power?" The paragraphs that follow are extracts from this memo:

We possess the machinery for setting national priorities voluntarily and democratically. We possess it in the leadership of the President, in the instrumentality of the Federal Budget, and in the congressional powers of taxation, authorization and appropriation.

If we are planning to stay in the ring as a great nation, we have no choice but to use this machinery in a bold and purposeful way. We will have to abandon the illusion that the free choices of millions of individual consumers can solve all our problems. We shall have to begin purposefully to focus our national energies in ways which will give us the things a great nation must have —defense, foreign assistance, education, medical care, scientific research, resources and energy development, elimination of private poverty, and so on—even if these things don't make profits for private business in the market.

'Marx's Fatal Miscalculation'



MARX

LENIN

(*From a speech by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., before the Indian Council of World Affairs on February 15, 1962.*)

"Marx declared this process [the overthrow of capitalism by revolution] to be irresistible. Nothing could avert it; and one reason for this was that by his theory the capitalist state could never be anything but the executive committee of the capitalist class. History, however, has revealed this narrow view of the state as Marx's fatal miscalculation.

"It is evident in the century since Marx that, in developed capitalist societies, the state, far from being the helpless instrument of the possessing class, has become the means by which the other groups in society have been able to redress the balance of social power in favor of those whom the American President Andrew Jackson called the humble members of society.

" . . . As a consequence, democratic society, instead of perishing from the internal contradictions prophesied by Marx, has been enabled through the rise of the liberal democratic state to reduce, master and largely dispel these contradictions. History, in short, has confounded Marx, outwitted his ideology, and refused his absolutism."

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Duty, Honor, Country

General MacArthur's Farewell to West Point

NO HUMAN BEING could fail to be deeply moved by such a tribute as this, coming from a profession I have served so long and a people I have loved so well. It fills me with an emotion I cannot express. But this award is not intended primarily for a personality, but to symbolize a great moral code—the code of conduct and chivalry of those who guard this beloved land of culture and ancient descent.

Duty, honor, country: Those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you want to be, what you can be, what you will be. They are your rallying point to build courage when courage seems to fail, to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith, to create hope when hope becomes forlorn.

More Than Just Words

Unhappily, I possess neither that eloquence of diction, that poetry of imagination nor that brilliance of metaphor to tell you all that they mean.

The unbelievers will say they are but words, but a slogan, but a flamboyant phrase. Every pedant, every demagogue, every cynic, every hypocrite, every troublemaker and, I am sorry to say, some others of an entirely different character, will try to downgrade them even to the extent of mockery and ridicule.

But these are some of the things they build: They build your basic character. They mold you for your future roles as the custodians of the nation's defense. They make you strong enough to know when you are weak, and brave enough to face yourself when you are afraid.

They teach you to be proud and unbending in honest failure, but humble and gentle in success; not to substitute words for action; not to seek the path of comfort, but to face the stress and spur of difficulty and challenge; to learn to stand up in the storm, but to have compassion on those who fall; to master yourself before you seek to master others; to have a heart that is clean, a goal that is high; to learn to laugh, yet never forget how to weep; to reach into the future, yet never neglect the past; to be serious, yet never take yourself too seriously; to be modest so that you will remember the simplicity of true greatness, the open mind of true wisdom, the meekness of true strength.

They give you a temperate will, a quality of imagination, a vigor of the emotions, a freshness of the deep springs of life, a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity, an appetite for adventure over love of ease.

They create in your heart the sense of wonder, the unfailing hope of what next, and the joy and inspiration of life. They teach you in this way to be an officer and a gentleman.

And what sort of soldiers are those you are to lead? Are they reliable? Are they brave? Are they capable of victory?

This is a partial transcript of General Douglas MacArthur's address to the graduating class of the US Military Academy at West Point, New York, when he received the Sylvanus Thayer Award. The General spoke without a prepared text and without notes. We are reprinting it from *The National Observer*.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR

Their story is known to all of you. It is the story of the American man-at-arms. My estimate of him was formed on the battlefields many, many years ago, and has never changed. I regarded him then, as I regard him now, as one of the world's noblest figures; not only as one of the finest military characters, but also as one of the most stainless.

HIS NAME AND FAME are the birthright of every American citizen. In his youth and strength, his love and loyalty, he gave all that mortality can give. He needs no eulogy from me, or from any other man. He has written his own history and written it in red on his enemy's breast. . . .

In 20 campaigns, on a hundred battlefields, around a thousand campfires, I have witnessed that enduring fortitude, that patriotic self-abnegation and that invincible determination which have carved his statue in the hearts of his people.

Memories

From one end of the world to the other, he has drained deep the chalice of courage. As I listened to those songs in memory's eye, I could see those staggering columns of the First World War, bending under soggy packs on many a weary march, from dripping dusk to drizzling dawn, slogging ankle-deep through mire of shell-pocked roads; to form grimly for the attack, blue-lipped, covered with sludge and mud, chilled by the wind and

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rain, driving home to their objective, and, for many, to the judgment seat of God. . . .

I do not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death. They died unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in their hearts, and on their lips the hope that we would go on to victory.

Always for them: Duty, honor, country. Always their blood, and sweat, and tears, as they saw the way and the light. And 20 years after, on the other side of the globe, again the filth of dirty foxholes, the stench of ghostly trenches, the slime of dripping dugouts, those boiling suns of the relentless heat, those torrential rains of devastating storms, the loneliness and utter desolation of jungle trails, the bitterness of long separation of those they loved and cherished, the deadly pestilence of tropical disease, the horror of stricken areas of war.

Their resolute and determined defense, their swift and sure attack, their indomitable purpose, their complete and decisive victory—always victory, always through the bloody haze of their last reverberating shot, the vision of gaunt, ghastly men, reverently following your password of duty, honor, country. . . .

YOU NOW FACE a new world, a world of change. The thrust into outer space of the satellite spheres and missiles marks a beginning of another epoch in the long story of mankind. In the five or more billions of years the scientists tell us it has taken to form the earth, in the three or more billion years of development of the human race, there has never been a more abrupt or staggering evolution.

'No Substitute for Victory'

We deal now not with things of this world alone, but with the illimitable distances and yet unfathomed mysteries of the universe. We are reaching out for a new and boundless frontier. We speak in strange terms of harnessing the cosmic energy, of making winds and tides work for us, . . . of the primary target in war, no longer limited to the armed forces of an enemy, but, instead, to include his civil population; of ultimate conflicts between a united human race and the sinister forces of some other planetary galaxy; such dreams and fantasies as to make life the most exciting of all times. And through all this welter of change and development your mission remains fixed, determined, inviolable. It is to win our wars. Everything else in your professional career is but corollary to this vital dedication. All other public purpose, all other public projects, all other public needs, great or small, will find others for their accomplishments; but you are the ones who are trained to fight.

Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that, if you lose, the nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country.

Others will debate the controversial issues, national and international, which divide men's minds. But serene, calm, aloof, you stand as the nation's war guardians, as its lifeguards from the raging tides of international conflict, as its gladiators in the arena of battle. For a century and a half you have defended, guarded and protected its hallowed traditions of liberty and freedom, of right and justice.

Let civilian voices argue the merits or demerits of our processes of government: Whether our strength is being sapped by deficit financing indulged in too long, by Federal paternalism grown too mighty, by power groups grown too arrogant, by politics grown too corrupt, by crime grown too rampant, by morals grown too low, by taxes grown too high, by extremists grown too violent; whether our personal liberties are as firm and complete as they should be.

These great national problems are not for your professional participation or military solution. Your guidepost stands out like a tenfold beacon in the night: Duty, honor, country.

You are the lever which binds together the entire fabric of our national system of defense. From your ranks come the great captains who hold the nation's destiny in their hands the moment the war tocsin sounds. . . .

Past Heroes Would Rise

The long, gray line has never failed us. Were you to do so, a million ghosts in olive drab, in brown khaki, in blue and gray, would rise from their white crosses, thundering those magic words: Duty, honor, country.

This does not mean that you are warmongers. On the contrary, the soldier above all other people prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war. But always in our ears ring the ominous words of Plato, that wisest of all philosophers: "Only the dead have seen the end of war."

THE SHADOWS are lengthening for me. The twilight is here. My days of old have vanished—tone and tints. They have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty, watered by tears and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday. I listen then, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll.

In my dreams I hear again the crash of guns, the rattle of musketry, the strange, mournful mutter of the battlefield. But in the evening of my memory I come back to West Point. Always there echoes and re-echoes: Duty, honor, country.

Today marks my final roll call with you. But I want you to know that when I cross the river, my last conscious thoughts will be of the corps, and the corps, and the corps.

I bid you farewell.

Two earlier articles dealing with General MacArthur have appeared in HUMAN EVENTS: "MacArthur—Our First Muzzled General," by Richard L. Henschel, February 10, 1962; and "The Path to Freedom—We Must Cut Taxes and Halt Inflation," by General MacArthur, March 17, 1958. Single copies of each cost 20 cents.

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More About Our National Morals

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Editor, Tulsa [Okla.] Tribune

In its issue of November 24, 1961, HUMAN EVENTS printed "About Our National Morals" by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, editor of the Tulsa, Oklahoma, *Tribune*. Reprint orders by the thousands poured in over the next few months. *The Reader's Digest* printed a condensation in its March, 1962, issue. Its editors say the readership reaction exceeds almost any response in the *Digest's* history. Reprinted below are three excerpts pertaining to education and juvenile delinquency from a recent address by Jones to the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

I WISH YOU could have read all the letters I have received in the past few months from disgusted teachers who have tried to reintroduce principles of hard work and integrity in their classrooms over the opposition of the school hierarchies. It is high time that these Ph.D. pooh-bahs of John Deweyism stepped forward and permitted themselves to be graded. But no.

You recall that last fall the school board of the little township of Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, dissatisfied with modern primers, announced that it was introducing reprints of 80-year-old McGuffey Readers. Maybe it was making a bad mistake. Maybe the new books and new teaching methods are far superior. Here was a fine chance to find out.

But did the Wisconsin State Board of Education offer a sporting challenge—a one-year test, for example, to see which was the better approach, theirs or McGuffey's? Not a bit of it. The State Board merely moved to deprive Twin Lakes of state aid, to the thunderous applause, I'm sorry to say, of the so-called "liberals."

* * *

THREE WEEKS AGO Bill Diehl, the righteously-angry entertainment editor of the St. Paul *Dispatch*, ran down the list of present and coming attractions, as follows:

- *Walk on the Wild Side.* Set in a brothel.
- *A View from the Bridge.* Incest.
- *The Mark.* A Strange young man trifles with little girls.
- *The Children's Hour.* Two school teachers suspected of being Lesbians.
- *All Fall Down.* A psychopathic attacker of females.
- *Cape Fear.* A crazy rapist.
- *Lolita.* A middle-aged man's affair with a 12-year-old.
- *The Chapman Report.* The adventures of a nymphomaniac.

Just think! All this and popcorn, too!

In a speech a couple of months ago in Hartford, Connecticut, Mr. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, asked the plaintive question: "Why, despite our unceasing efforts, does the film industry fail at times to have public confidence?"

Then he suggested an answer. The movie people apologize too much, he said. They should take pride in the fact that they have amended their production code. (Mr. Johnston apparently uses the term "amended" when he means a general tooth extraction.)

"What art form," asked Mr. Johnston, "has not had to keep up with the times to reflect contemporary society? . . . "

But perhaps the most intriguing part of Mr. Johnston's speech dealt with newspaper movie ads. It is ridiculous, he said, for parents to complain about bad influence by movies upon their children when all parents have to do is look closely at the ads.

"I have yet to run across a movie ad so subtle," said Mr. Johnston, "that a concerned parent would not know whether the film was suitable for his child."

Well, here is a semantical pole-vault that ought to set a world's record. For the suggestive, half-dressed figures locked in passionate embrace that have been decorating the threatre ads in our great moral dailies are now revealed as a public service, generously paid for by the movie moguls so that parents can be warned!

Jenkin Lloyd Jones—"We have reached the point where we should re-examine the debilitating philosophy of permissiveness."

* * *

DR. CELIA DESCHIN, specialist in medical sociology at Adelphi College, in a recent article in *This Week* magazine, says it's time for a new kind of Kinsey Report. She asserts that the late Doctor Kinsey produced a report that was heavily loaded by exhibitionists and that did immense damage to America by peddling the impression that sexual self-discipline neither exists in this country nor is it desirable.

Generally, she says, those parents who are afraid to lay down the law have the most miserable children. Children, she points out, want honest direction and a set of sensible rules to live by. Where these are denied them on the fantastic theory that it's no longer scientific to say No, the kids often develop subconscious anxiety. Much juvenile delinquency springs from a deep hunger for rules. It is a masochistic effort to seek punishment. The child, says Doctor Deschin, abhors a world where everything goes.

Or, as my tough-minded old grandmother put it, "The youngster who doesn't know that there's a Lord in Israel bounces around in a limbo where there is no force of gravity. If you think he's happy you're crazy."

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Readers Score Medicare Plan

From recent letters to the editor to the Chicago Tribune

Those of us who are being subjected to the bandwagon propaganda for medicine should become more informed of the basic structure of social security. . . .

In *Flemming vs. Nestor,* the Supreme Court uses the term "a form of social insurance" in referring to social security, but it immediately specifies that it is only a welfare measure, in the following words: "enacted pursuant to Congress' power to 'spend money in aid of the general welfare.' "

Former Secretary Flemming, of Health, Education and Welfare, in his brief before the Supreme Court, stated that "the old-age monthly benefits program which Title II of the Social Security Act establishes is not a Federally-administered 'insurance' program."

The Solicitor General of the United States stated that "social security must be viewed as a welfare instrument to which legal concepts of 'insurance,' property, vested rights, annuities, etc., can be applied only at the risk of a serious distortion of language."

The Supreme Court warned us not to confuse the term "social insurance" with the popularly accepted meaning of insurance in the following words: "It is apparent that the noncontractual interest of an employe covered by the [Social Security] Act cannot be soundly analogized to that of the holder of an annuity whose rights to benefits are bottomed on his contractual premium payments."

Section 1104 of the Social Security Act gives Congress "the right to alter, amend, or repeal any provision" of the Act.

In its first quarter-century, social security took in $70 billion. It paid out $50 billion of that, and has $20 billion of government bonds in reserve. Against that $20 billion there are obligations, at the present rate of benefits, of about $360 billion. The Administration will have to pay out $18 for every $1 it now has in the fund.

According to acturial study No. 48 of the Social Security Administration, the new entrant into social security is scheduled to pay $1.69 for every $1 promised in benefits. Is this a good deal?

EDWARD PALMER, M. D.
Berwyn, Illinois

* * *

Not too long ago I lived with medicine, education and everything else provided by government. As soon as I got the chance, I escaped from the Army. If cradle to grave care is so great, why do we need conscription?

RAY E. WIESBROOK
Glen Ellyn, Illinois

* * *

The King-Anderson Bill provides for a ¼ per cent payroll tax on a base of $5,200 by the employe and an additional ¼ per cent by the employer.

A 20-year-old would pay $26 annually for 42 years or $1,092.

However if this $26 was to be placed in a savings account at 4½ per cent compounded quarterly, the total reaches the astronomical sum of $3,143.74. If a husband and wife are working, this figure would be doubled. For this we may live to get a $90 deductible, limited, hospitalization policy for about seven years if we reach an average life expectancy of 72.

Certainly, the private insurance companies can do better than this.

J. LADENHEIM, M. D.
Oak Park, Illinois

Parable of Pittsburgh

From the Smaller Manufacturer Magazine

The following story called the "Parable of Pittsburgh" is a true case history, but it fits nearly all small firms in the Pittsburgh district that have been liquidated in the past decade.

And in those days there existed in the land a small village, which was but an hour's journey from a great city, where large factories produced steel. The village had no industry until a few men decided to form a company to make steel widgets, which were needed by the great mills. In the village there dwelt many fine men who had worked on farms and knew the rewards of honest labor. It was thought that these men would work wisely and well, and the great mills would buy these widgets. And they did.

And the company grew and waxed strong and prosperous, for its owners were respected and able to raise capital to buy machines, and its management was capable, and its workers were conscientious and willing to give their best. And as the company prospered, more men were hired, and they, too, prospered, and built homes and educated their children, and their earnings were spent locally, and the merchants of the village prospered also.

But is came to pass that there went forth out of the city a decree from those who represented the men who labored, saying: "Whosoever worketh in this area shall be paid the same wages for the same job, and shall have the same hours and conditions, whether he maketh steel or only small parts, whether he worketh well or poorly, whether he liveth in the great city or in the small villages. And no man shall produce more widgets per day than any other man."

And, lo and behold, the small company in the village soon found that it could not buy steel from the great mills and convert it into widgets to sell back to the mills, for its costs were now higher than those of the mills. And so the small company withered, and finally closed its doors. And the men who had labored there had no jobs, and their families suffered, as did all those whose livelihood depended on that company.

And in the eleventh hour the men came to the manager and asked: "What has happened to our jobs?" And he answered and said unto them: "In the old days we made widgets at lower cost than others, but you have made that impossible. We can no longer compete with the great mills, now that we work as we do. Nor can we compete with other widget makers in the South and the West who do not have these conditions, especially those in foreign lands, who produce and prosper as we once did." And the men said unto him: "What can we do to save our jobs?" And the manager answered: "Alas, it is too late. Our business is gone. Our credit is gone. We have nothing left on which to build again."

And they went away, sorrowing.

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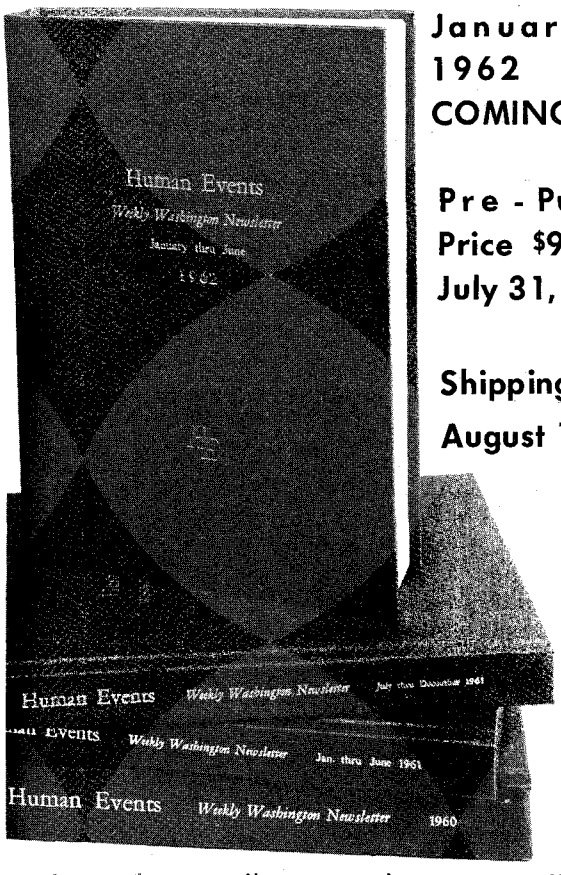

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Continued from page 451

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Bureaucracy Defeated

From the Los Angeles Times

The case of the Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association is an object lesson in bureaucracy using power unwisely, even tyrannically.

Long Beach Federal was twice seized by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board on charges that "unsafe and unsound practices" endangered the institution.

Now it has been returned for the second time to its officers and shareholders, after congressional investigating committees found the charges unwarranted. Moreover, the FHLBB during its two-time stewardship managed the institution so that deposits were reduced by 60 per cent or more.

Representative Craig Hosmer said the FHLBB statements two years ago constituted "an invitation for a run on the loan association."

Democratic Representatives Chet Holifield, Harry Sheppard and Cecil King condemned the seizures. So did GOP Representative James B. Utt, who called the action "conspiratory" and designed "to divide this $96-million association among competing interests." King called it "without proper foundation."

GREGORY

Long Beach Federal's first FHLBB trouble came after T. A. Gregory, its president, was publicly critical of FHLBB's consolidation of its Portland and Los Angeles banks, and their removal to San Francisco.

The 1946 seizure followed, and the charges brought by FHLBB then were so flagrantly false the Congress amended the FHLBB law to prevent such abuses of power. However, Long Beach Federal was seized under claim of "emergency" in April, 1960. (Representative Hosmer said the "emergency" was patently manufactured by FHLBB.)

Gregory was put to great expense to fight the charges in Washington. That he fought, and regained control of his institution after bureaucratic harassment, is a matter for congratulation.

But that FHLBB was twice condemned for unwarranted use of its powers by congressional investigators would seem to call for further safeguards to prevent such actions in future.

THE REVOLUTION WAS—"The New Deal was a genuine revolution, whose deepest purpose was not simply reform within existing traditions, but a basic change in the social, and, above all, the power relationships within the nation. It was not a revolution by violence. It was a revolution by bookkeeping and lawmaking. . . . It was only of incidental interest that the revolution was not complete, that it was made not by tanks and machine guns, but by acts of Congress and decisions of the Supreme Court, or that many of the revolutionists did not know what they were, or denied it. . . . Whether the revolutionists prefer to call themselves Fabians, who seek power by the inevitability of gradualism, or Bolsheviks, who seek power by the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle is for power." (*Whittaker Chambers, in his book Witness*)

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